

L.I. BREZHNEV

OUR COURSE:
PEACE
AND
SOCIALISM

MOSCOW 1973



L. I. BREZHNEV
General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee

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*A collection of speeches by L. I. BREZHNEV
General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee
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Speech by L. I. BREZHNEV at the First of May Rally

Dear comrades,
Dear Muscovites and guests of Moscow,
Dear friends,

We have again gathered here beneath the red stars of the Kremlin to celebrate May Day, the day of brotherhood and militant unity of the working people of all countries, the spring holiday, the holiday of labour and peace.

From the beginning of time the emancipation of labour and lasting peace have been the ideal of all peoples. We Soviet people are legitimately proud that the emancipation of labour was started on our soil in the days of the Great October Revolution and that our country has firmly held high the cause of lasting peace and friendship of all the peoples of the earth for 55 years.

Comrades, two years have passed since the 24th Congress of our Party. These have been years of work by the Party and the entire Soviet people to implement the historic decisions of the Congress both in domestic life and in international matters.

We have entered the third, decisive year of the Five-Year Plan. This year began as a year of shock labour. Workers and peasants, scientists and those in the sphere of culture and all working people in

our country are exerting themselves to do everything, not only to fulfil, but also to exceed the annual plans and thereby lay a firm foundation for the fulfilment and exceeding of the Five-Year Plan as a whole.

The Leninist communist Subbotnik, held on April 21, was a striking expression of nation-wide labour enthusiasm. A hundred and thirty-two million people, virtually the entire able-bodied population, reported for work that day. They worked with enthusiasm, in a genuinely communist spirit.

If the remaining months see a similar level of activity, there is no doubt at all that the targets for our country's development which have been set for this year will be reached.

Shock communist labour is the best and correct way of strengthening our country and of improving the life of our people. At the same time it is also a great contribution to the cause of lasting peace.

Substantial results have been achieved since the Party Congress in strengthening the position of socialism and consolidating peace, tasks which were put to the forefront by our Party. The Plenary Meeting of the Party's Central Committee, held a few days ago, summed up the results of our work in this field. Those participating noted with profound satisfaction that we have gone a long way along the road of putting the Peace Programme adopted by the Congress into effect.

Sounding ever more powerfully and authoritatively on the world scene is the voice of the land of Lenin, the voice of the entire socialist community, a voice calling for lasting peace and friendship among the peoples.

With every year and with every month that passes, with every day one may say, the active peace-

loving policy of the Soviet Union and other countries of socialism gives the peoples of the earth ever new convincing proof that the concepts of socialism and peace are indivisible.

The war in Vietnam, for the ending of which the Soviet Union worked firmly and consistently, has ended. Relying on the powerful moral and material support of the Soviet Union and other countries of socialism and on the solidarity of all the progressive forces of the world, the patriots of Vietnam have successfully upheld the just cause of freedom and independence.

Important positive changes have been achieved in Europe thanks to the persistent and constructive policy of the Soviet Union and its socialist allies, and with the support of all peace-loving and realistically-minded forces. A turn from the "cold war" and dangerous tension towards rational joint efforts to strengthen peace and develop mutually advantageous cooperation is taking place.

We are calling for Europe's bloody past to be overcome, not in order to forget it, but so that it may never be repeated. This has become a perfectly realistic task now when socialism has become a mightily, irresistible force in the life of Europe. Our aims are clear, constructive and noble. They are worthy of the Leninist Party, they are worthy of the world's first country of victorious socialism.

Lenin's idea of the peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems is scoring ever new victories in the minds of people and in the practice of international relations.

The policy of the Soviet Union in Europe, as in other parts of the world, is first of all a policy of peace. This determines both the development of our relations with France, the Federal Republic

of Germany and other European states and our vigorous activities to prepare an all-European conference.

We also approach relations with countries like the United States of America from the same position. We shall continue to work for the favourable development of Soviet-American relations on the principles of mutual respect and mutual advantage. Our country's approach to relations with Japan is similar.

Our sincere friendship and fruitful cooperation with India, the Arab states and with all the independent freedom-loving countries of Africa, Asia and Latin America are growing stronger and deeper. The CPSU and the Soviet state are always true to this friendship; we see in it a mighty source of strengthening the forces of peace and progress.

Comrades, the Soviet Union's international position has never been stronger. The security of the Soviet people is more reliably ensured than ever before. Our people are working under the banner of peace and are carrying on the struggle for peace in the cause of the emancipation of labour. Under the red banner of peace and labour we have scored outstanding successes which are admired by all honest people in the world. Under this banner we shall score great new victories.

On the occasion of May Day, on behalf of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet and the Council of Ministers of the USSR, I warmly greet you all, dear comrades, on this holiday.

Representatives of Moscow's working people have gathered here, in the principal square of the country, which has become a symbol of the motherland

for all Soviet people. Muscovites have pioneered many bold initiatives in socialist emulation. May Moscow continue to be a striking example of heroic labour and of the struggle for communism!

Together with us on this May Day, millions of Soviet people have come out into the squares and streets of their towns and settlements, communities and villages. Permit me from the bottom of my heart to wish all citizens of our great country, all builders of communism, every Soviet family, every Soviet person, the greatest success in their noble work and the greatest happiness.

While struggling for lasting peace, we do not forget that forces hostile to peace have not laid down their arms. We remember the machinations of aggressive circles and are maintaining a high level of vigilance. On this May Day holiday we send warm greetings to the glorious men of our armed forces who firmly stand guard over peace.

We address words of friendly greetings today to the foreign guests of the capital. Your presence here, dear comrades, is evidence of the bonds of friendship linking the Soviet Union with the champions of freedom and security throughout the world.

In the May Day demonstrations we see a living link between the generations of the international working class and its loyalty to its internationalist traditions.

On this day we send our greetings and fraternal congratulations to all friends and comrades abroad. We send our greetings to the working people of the socialist countries and to the working class and Communist and Workers' Parties in the capitalist countries and to all fighters for national and social liberation.

Being genuine internationalists, the Soviet peo-

ple are wholeheartedly with them in their struggle for the emancipation of labour and for lasting peace.

Long live the First of May, the holiday of proletarian internationalism, the day of the militant solidarity of the working people of the world!

Glory to our great Leninist Party!

Glory to the Soviet people who are building communism!

Speech by L. I. BREZHNEV
on the Occasion of the Presentation of the Order
of Lenin to EDWARD GIEREK, First Secretary
of the Central Committee of the Polish United
Workers' Party,
May 11, 1973

Dear Comrade Gierek,

Dear comrades,

We are meeting here today on a pleasant, festive occasion. As you know, in recognition of his outstanding services in developing friendship and cooperation between the peoples of the USSR and Poland, and his great contribution to the consolidation of peace and socialism, the Order of Lenin has been conferred on Comrade Edward Gierek. I have the honour of presenting this signal award to our comrade-in-arms.

Edward Gierek's life is the life of a revolutionary, staunchly loyal to the working class, to the ideas of the great Marxist-Leninist teaching. It is the life of a patriot fully dedicated to the interests of his homeland and to the happiness and prosperity of Poland's working people. It is the life of an internationalist fully intent on the noble goal of the triumph of socialism and peace, on the nob-

le cause of the struggle for the cohesion and fresh successes of the socialist countries and of the world communist movement.

A miner, who at an early age joined the ranks of Communists, a member of the Resistance Movement against fascism, an active builder of a new, socialist Poland, Comrade Edward Gierek has earned well-deserved prestige among the working class of Poland and the Polish working people as a whole, whose thoughts and needs he well understands. Comrade Gierek is profoundly respected in the fraternal socialist countries and in the world communist movement.

One could say much about Edward Gierek's personal merits: his principled attitudes and realistic approach, his political astuteness and firm will, modesty, comradely attitude to people, and persistence in attaining the goals set. These attributes are important for every Communist, and especially for a political leader whom the Party has chosen for such a high office.

There can be no greater reward for a Communist than the confidence of the working class and the people at large. The Polish United Workers' Party and its Central Committee headed by Comrade Gierek deservedly enjoy such confidence.

Next year, people's Poland will mark its 30th anniversary. These have been years of revolutionary development, difficult and glorious years. The Party of the Polish Communists is worthily playing its role as the guiding force of society, as the vanguard of the working class and all the working people of the country. The past three decades have seen the flourishing of the new Poland. Having become one of the advanced countries of the world, the Polish People's Republic now has a modern industry: power production, shipbuilding,

radioengineering, an electronics industry, metallurgy, a mining industry, and many other branches of industrial production. There has been a tremendous growth of socialist Poland's prestige in the international arena. It is an equal participant in our fraternal community, and its voice carries weight in the solution of world problems.

The Polish people have always made a tangible contribution to world civilization. Another reminder of this is the 500th anniversary of Nicolaus Copernicus, the great son of Poland, an anniversary that is being extensively marked in all the countries. And we have every reason to say that all the conditions have been provided in socialist Poland to encourage the Copernicuses of our days. The dynamic development of the productive forces, state concern for the universal education of the people, for the progress of science and the arts—the entire social atmosphere under socialism helps every person to ascertain his abilities and find his place in the creative effort for the good of his socialist homeland.

Speaking briefly of the main feature which, in our opinion, characterizes the present-day life of Polish society, I should say that this is social optimism, a clear understanding of what has been done and what has to be done, and the excellent prospects for the future. This can be seen from the political and labour enthusiasm displayed by the people to implement the resolutions of the Sixth PUWP Congress.

I would like to avail myself of the opportunity to wish you, dear friends, great success in your endeavours!

Dear Comrade Gierek, in presenting you today with the supreme award of the Soviet state, I would like to note in particular your contribution

to the development of the inviolable Soviet-Polish friendship and the all-round cooperation between our countries. The fraternal alliance between our peoples did not appear spontaneously; it is not a gift of history to us. Rather it came into being in the joint struggle of the peoples of the Soviet Union and Poland for freedom and happiness. It is the result of the persistent, many-year efforts of the Communists of the two countries. This can rightfully be regarded by our Parties as one of their greatest gains. We consider it our duty to preserve in every way, to strengthen and to enrich with new content our close alliance. We know well that such is also the desire of the Polish Communists, that such is the will of the Polish people.

The realities of the world of today are such that the peoples of the Soviet Union, Poland and all the other countries of the socialist community have rallied together to form a single big family where the law of life is proletarian internationalism. We have never regarded our community as some kind of a closed bloc with its interests opposed to the interests of other countries. On the contrary, what makes our joint policies effective is that they conform to the aspirations of all the progressive movements, to the hopes and aspirations of all nations. We firmly adhere to our class positions. We are making efforts to ensure the right of all nations to a free and dignified existence, to achieve a political settlement of disputable issues, and to establish businesslike and equal cooperation. That is precisely why the policies of the socialist community are meeting with ever growing support from the popular masses the world over.

As we work for the consolidation of peace and security in the interests of all nations, we naturally try to provide the most favourable international

conditions for the building of a new society—for the development of economy and culture, the improvement of the living standards of the working people, and the fulfilment of other constructive tasks which are now being tackled by the fraternal parties and the peoples of the socialist countries. In this respect one can understand the importance of the treaties concluded by the Soviet Union, Poland, and the German Democratic Republic with the FRG. The inviolability of the European frontiers, a lasting peace, mutually advantageous cooperation of all European countries—such are the noble goals for which we are jointly working in the international arena.

At present, the final stage is under way, in Helsinki, of preparations for a political forum possessing a significance yet unknown in the history of the continent. It is our deep conviction that the conference of European states can and must open a new page in the annals of relations between the peoples of Europe. And we shall go to this important meeting with a constructive and clear-cut attitude, with a sincere desire to do everything for its success.

Signs of a detente or at least significant changes in that direction can at present be observed in other parts of the world as well. We are deeply convinced that these trends can be consolidated and universal, just peace made more secure through the joint efforts of the socialist countries and of all the progressive forces.

Please allow me, comrades, once again to congratulate from the bottom of my heart our dear friend Edward Gierek and to wish him good health and fresh successes in his work for the good of the Polish people and Soviet-Polish friendship, for the great cause of peace and socialism.

Speech by L. I. BREZHNEV
on the Occasion of the Presentation of the Order of
Lenin to ERICH HONECKER, First Secretary of the
Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party
of Germany,
May 13, 1973

Dear Comrade Erich Honecker,

Dear comrades,

The Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet has entrusted me with the honourable mission of presenting the Order of Lenin to Comrade Erich Honecker, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany. This Order, the highest award of the Soviet State, has been conferred on Comrade Honecker for his outstanding role in promoting fraternal friendship and cooperation between the peoples of the USSR and the GDR, for his great contribution to the cause of consolidating peace and socialism.

Comrade Honecker is well known and sincerely respected in our country as a staunch Communist who has been through the tough schooling of struggle against fascism, as a patriot and internationalist, a prominent leader of the socialist community and the international communist movement.

Comrade Honecker's entire life and revolutionary activity have been bound up with the struggle of the German Communists for the interests of the working class and all working people. The building and consolidation of the German Democratic Republic, the triumph of socialist principles in all spheres of social life, the all-round development of the Republic's economy, science and culture, the

fostering of a communist spirit in its citizens—these are all historical services of the SUPG and its collective leadership to which Comrade Honecker has belonged for almost a quarter of a century now.

For many years, Comrade Honecker has been closely connected in his work with such outstanding figures in the German and international working-class movement as Wilhelm Pieck, Otto Grotewohl and Comrade Walter Ulbricht, whom we all deeply respect. In his responsible post as First Secretary of the Central Committee of the SUPG, Comrade Honecker honourably carries on the Thaelmann internationalist traditions of the older generation of German Communists.

In carrying out the tasks set by the Eighth Congress of the SUPG, to bring about a developed socialist society in their country, the working people of the GDR are building, together with the peoples of the Soviet Union and the other fraternal socialist countries, the highroad to the future which, by virtue of the logic of their internal development and the objective laws of history, will be taken by other peoples and eventually by all mankind.

The people of the GDR are confident of their present and future; with each passing year they are enjoying a fuller life materially and culturally. We rejoice over your achievements, and we wholeheartedly wish you new successes, comrades!

Special mention must needs be made of the role of the German Democratic Republic as an influential factor with regard to European peace and security, as a state carrying great weight in international affairs.

Today the political barometer in Europe more

and more definitely indicates "fair weather"; the atmosphere of detente is ever more reliably being ensured; there is a growing sense of security about peace and awareness of a good outlook for the future. And this, without a doubt, is connected above all with the active peace policy of the countries of the socialist community, to which the German Democratic Republic belongs. Everybody knows the considerable contribution the GDR has made to achieving a detente, the selfless efforts it has made to attain a practical settlement of complicated problems.

We Communists are fighting for a relaxation of tension not just in order to bring about a state of tranquillity in Europe for a limited time. Our ideal in international politics—and today we can say more—our practical aim—is an inviolable peace, the only way it is possible to ensure genuinely equal cooperation between sovereign European states, regardless of their social system, size and other differences. The establishment of a lasting peace will be a fitting tribute to the exploit of all who, in the years of World War II, selflessly fought on the side of the anti-Hitler coalition for the freedom and happiness of nations, to smash the nazi tyranny. European peace must be based on a secure and reliable foundation so that not only the present but future generations, too, can enjoy the benefits of peaceful development.

In whatever they do the socialist countries go into it seriously and thoroughly. This fully applies to the treaties and agreements of recent years, which have largely determined the change for the better on the European continent. If we put our signature to treaties this means that we are firmly resolved to observe strictly and fully the letter and

spirit of these documents. We expect the same approach from our partners who sign these treaties. Otherwise aboveboard businesslike cooperation is impossible.

Everybody remembers the feverish atmosphere in Europe when the "cold war" architects were trying to build up an atmosphere of confrontation and enmity between the two German states. The coming into force of the Treaty on the Bases of Relations between the German Democratic Republic and the Federal Republic of Germany, which was endorsed by the West German Bundestag the other day, is to put an end to this abnormal situation. I trust that all of us agree this treaty is highly important not only for normalizing relations between the GDR and the FRG as two independent sovereign states, but also for the further relaxation of tension in Europe and consolidation of international peace.

The aim that we have set of establishing relations of good-neighbourliness and cooperation between the East and West of Europe demands, of course, reciprocal efforts on the part of the other side. This cannot be achieved without political courage, without an awareness of the real interests of one's own country and of the broader interests of peace in Europe. Anyone who wants a lasting peace must necessarily pay due credit to all the steps which have been made in this direction.

The dynamic process of recognition of the GDR by dozens of states, which we are witnessing, is the logical outcome of the persevering efforts of the Republic's workers, peasants and intellectuals to build their socialist state, the outcome of the policy, including the foreign policy course, pursued by the Socialist Unity Party of Germany and its

Central Committee. It is also the outcome of coordinated efforts by all the fraternal socialist countries bound together by ties of unbreakable alliance and socialist solidarity. And we are happy to say that what the countries of the socialist community, the fraternal Communist Parties and all progressive forces have for many years regarded as a pressing task can now be considered accomplished.

Dear friends, the Soviet Communists, the Soviet Union have invariably been at your side ever since the inception of the socialist state of German workers and peasants. We consider the relations of all-round cooperation and fraternal friendship that have been established between our countries as one of the greatest achievements of the postwar period, as added weighty proof that it is the socialist system that is able to establish the genuine fraternity of the peoples. There is no doubt that the unbreakable alliance of the Soviet Union and the German Democratic Republic will continue to develop. And we highly appreciate the contribution that the Central Committee of your Party, its Political Bureau and Comrade Honecker personally are making to this noble historic cause.

Once again, our dear friend, accept the most cordial congratulations of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet and the Soviet Government.

It gives me great pleasure to present you with the Order of Lenin, our country's highest award.

We wish you good health and further successes in your work for the good of the German Democratic Republic and friendship between our Parties and peoples, for the cause of peace and socialism.

**L. I. BREZHNEV'S Replies
to Questions by the Editor-in-Chief of the West
German Magazine "Stern"**

L. I. Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, received Henri Nannen, Editor-in-Chief of the West German magazine *Stern*, and granted him an interview in the Kremlin on May 13. Below are L. I. Brezhnev's replies to the magazine's questions.

Q. Mr. General Secretary, in a few days you will be going to the Federal Republic of Germany on an official visit. Would you say something about the purpose of this visit?

A. I am going to Bonn to continue what was started in August 1970 when the Moscow Treaty was signed. Although not much time has passed since then, it can already be said with every justification that the Treaty marks a turning point in the entire course of development of relations between the USSR and the FRG.

If I were to start talking about the really tremendous significance of this Treaty from the standpoint of international law, I would be saying what is already generally known. I would like to emphasize something else here, namely, the special moral and political significance of this Treaty. Its coming into force has made it possible to start work on building up a truly new atmosphere in the relations between our countries and between our peoples.

As I see it, in the forthcoming talks with Chancellor W. Brandt, we will try not only to sum up what has already been done. First of all, we will have to think together and define the prospects for the future. The matter concerns the further de-

velopment of relations between our states in all spheres—political, economic, scientific, technical, and cultural. And what is no less important, the matter also concerns the strengthening of mutual trust. Of course, discussion of major international problems, in respect of which the USSR and the FRG may have their say, will also be of much interest to Chancellor Brandt and myself. This refers, above all, of course, to European affairs.

We attach much importance, in particular, to an exchange of views with the Federal Chancellor on questions relating to the all-European conference and its results. Agreement on a common approach to these questions would undoubtedly have a positive influence on the further development of relations between our countries and, I believe, on the situation in Europe as a whole.

I would like to think that the talks with Chancellor W. Brandt, with whom we have established good relations in the course of the meetings in Moscow and Oreanda, will this time, too, be useful and serve the interests of peace and international cooperation.

Q. Mr. General Secretary, you will be visiting the Federal Republic of Germany for the first time. What are some of your feelings concerning this trip?

A. I will be going to the FRG with much interest, with goodwill, and without any prejudice whatsoever.

My interest in your country is not simply the interest of a man who knows about its achievements in many fields of industry and scientific and cultural activities. No, it is, first of all, a political interest. We seriously intend to further develop relations with the FRG, and therefore it is very important to get first-hand impressions, to learn

about and to have a better understanding of the views and concepts of your statesmen and politicians, the sentiments of the citizens, of the broad segments of the public.

Q. There is much interest in our country in the recent Plenary Meeting of the Central Committee of your Party, which dealt with questions of international politics. Could you say something about the Plenary Meeting for our readers?

A. The Resolution of the Plenary Meeting has been published and is being widely commented on, and, evidently, there is no need for me to repeat what has been said.

The entire range of questions concerning our foreign policy was taken up at the Plenary Meeting of the Central Committee. Quite naturally, much attention was given to the question of strengthening and extending all-round cooperation with the fraternal socialist countries—Poland, the German Democratic Republic, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Bulgaria, Romania and others.

As regards Europe, special attention was paid to major questions of security on the continent, and to questions concerning the preparation for and successful holding of the all-European conference. The Soviet Union is fully resolved to do everything in its power so that the results of this conference would give the peoples of our continent greater confidence in a peaceful future.

Our principled line and the positive practical steps we have taken to develop relations with your country—all this was unanimously approved. Thus we are going to the Federal Republic of Germany with the knowledge that we have the full support of our Party and the entire Soviet people.

Q. Do you believe that there are favourable prospects for cooperation between the USSR and the

FRG in the economic field and in the field of trade, science and technology?

A. Here, first of all, is the question of the influence of political factors. I believe that the Moscow Treaty creates sufficiently favourable grounds for the all-round development of relations between the Soviet Union and the FRG in all these fields. The development of these relations is part of the general process of improving relations between our states. Furthermore, the intensity and scope of these relations is an important indicator of the sturdiness of the entire edifice of Soviet-West German relations which we are presently building up.

I believe there exists every condition for a considerable expansion of cooperation between the USSR and the FRG in the trade, economic, scientific and technological fields. Many West German firms are known in our country as reliable trade partners.

We know that there are certain objective difficulties arising from the fact that the socio-economic systems of our two states are different. However, experience shows that the business circles of your country and our trade organizations can quite successfully join their efforts on the basis of mutual advantage. I think that the forthcoming talks in Bonn and the agreements which might be signed there will help to give a new scope to cooperation between the Soviet Union and the Federal Republic of Germany.

In conclusion, I wish once more to emphasize that we in the Soviet Union approach our relations with the Federal Republic of Germany from positions of peace, goodwill and a desire for the development of mutually advantageous cooperation. We are convinced that such cooperation will be of great benefit not only to the peoples of our two

countries, but also to Europe as a whole and will promote its security. It is precisely in the spirit of all the aforementioned that I would like to extend my greetings and my best wishes to the readers of your magazine.

**Speech by L. I. BREZHNEV
on His Arrival in the Federal Republic of Germany,
May 18, 1973**

Esteemed Mr. Federal Chancellor,
Esteemed ladies and gentlemen,

We all are sincerely grateful to you, Mr. Federal Chancellor, for your words of welcome and good wishes. Allow me to greet you and your colleagues and convey to you and, through you, to all the citizens of the Federal Republic wishes for peace and prosperity.

You and I have already met twice, Mr. Federal Chancellor, both times in the Soviet Union. Now I have come to your country, the Federal Republic. Every visit to a new country is always an interesting and pleasant event. If this visit, in addition, is connected with the solution of highly important problems, then it naturally is of even greater satisfaction.

I may say frankly that I have come here not only greatly interested in everything I shall see and hear, but, first and foremost, with the realization of the responsibility connected with the forthcoming new negotiations.

We are approaching these talks with much to show for our efforts. We have a good treaty—the treaty of 1970. We have a number of concrete

agreements pertaining to the development of USSR-FRG relations in various spheres. Finally, we have already more than two years' practical experience during which the worthy principles of the treaty began to be implemented.

We may well say that a good foundation has been laid. Now on this foundation we are to build a sound edifice of good-neighbourly relations between our countries. We are prepared to make a constructive contribution to this cause and hope that the statesmen of the FRG will also make every effort necessary to promote this new worthy cause for the sake of the well-being of our peoples, for the sake of a lasting peace in Europe.

In conclusion, allow me, Mr. Federal Chancellor, once again to thank you and all those present here for your attention and warm welcome.

**Speech by L. I. BREZHNEV
at a Dinner Given in His Honour by the Federal
Chancellor, W. Brandt,
May 18, 1973**

Esteemed Mr. Federal Chancellor,
Esteemed Mrs. Brandt,
Ladies and gentlemen,

Permit me to thank you once again for the invitation to visit your country, for the warm reception accorded us—representatives of the Soviet Union.

We regard our arrival here as a natural logical step in the development of relations between the

Soviet Union and the Federal Republic of Germany, which began with the signing of the Moscow Treaty of August 12, 1970. The new which is gradually entering into our countries' mutual relations is being welcomed and approved by the peoples of the Soviet Union and, as we understand, by the people of the FRG, as well as by other European peoples. This is an inspiration towards further efforts.

Only a few years ago relations between us were marked by unfriendliness, were permeated with the spirit of the cold war. We stood poles apart on nearly all major international issues.

It took no little effort to turn events into a favourable channel. When we undertook this task, we proceeded from the fact that the past must not weigh over us forever, obscuring future prospects. The aim of the Soviet Union's policy is to prevent a repetition of the tragic past. We are convinced that the solution of this task by our joint efforts would be of historic significance.

There is apparently a logic of its own in the fact that the work to renew relations between our countries was shouldered by representatives of the generation that has known the horrors of the past war. As a person who was at the front all through the war years, I realize with special clarity the essence and importance of this work. Mr. Brandt, I believe, also understands this very well. We have no doubt that the new generation will be able to understand and appreciate too what we are now doing and will make its own contribution to the great work that is now begun.

The development of broad cooperation with the FRG occupies an important place in the Soviet Union's European policy, which is aimed at bring-

ing about a decisive turn towards relaxation and peace on the continent. Of course, such a great task can only be solved by the efforts of many states, given mutual understanding with the neighbours and friends of both the Soviet Union and the FRG respectively. We hope that in these collective efforts the FRG will fulfil a role commensurate with its weight and position in the world today.

We are filled with a mutual desire to exchange also views on the entire range of Soviet-West German relations. During the talks with Chancellor Brandt, Vice-Chancellor and Foreign Minister Scheel and their colleagues we will probably have to sum up the results of what has already been done by the Sides for expanding and deepening our relations, and to outline our future goals.

One of the aims of our visit to you is to exchange opinions with the Federal Chancellor on vital European affairs, such as an all-European conference, reduction of armaments and armed forces in Central Europe, and others. Our agreement with the Chancellor would, undoubtedly, promote the success of these major political initiatives.

In a word, we will hardly lack themes for discussion. Rather, there will be a lack of time. However, since the programme gives priority to business sessions, I think that together with the Federal Chancellor we shall be able to do useful work. I also attach great importance to the forthcoming talk with the President of the Federal Republic, Mr. Heinemann.

The treaties of the Soviet Union and the Polish People's Republic with the Federal Republic of Germany, the quadripartite agreement on West Berlin and the Treaty on the basic principles of relations between the German Democratic Repub-

lic and the Federal Republic of Germany once again confirm the obvious and at the same time extremely important truth that even the seemingly most entangled and chronic international problems are amenable to solution. At the same time there is also another thing that is being confirmed: that what is needed to attain positive results is the desire and firm political will on the part of the politicians who shape the policy of states.

The treaties and agreements I recalled are a convincing victory for reason and realism, a success for the policy of peaceful coexistence. The task now is to go from these positions further ahead.

The Soviet Union, just as its allies—other socialist countries—is confident of its strength, of its political and economic potentials, and is prepared for peaceful, precisely peaceful competition and reciprocally advantageous cooperation with states belonging to the other social system. We are bending our efforts so that the achievements of human civilization and scientific and technical progress are used, not for hostility and destruction, but for creation, for raising the well-being and the spiritual wealth of the peoples.

Allow me to propose a toast to the development of peaceful and good-neighbourly relations between the Soviet Union and the Federal Republic of Germany.

To concord and cooperation between our countries in the interests of peace in Europe and the world over!

To the health of Mr. Federal Chancellor and Mrs. Brandt!

To the health of Mr. Vice-Chancellor and Mrs. Scheel!

To the health of all those present!

Speech by L. I. BREZHNEV
at a Dinner Given in Honour of the Federal
Chancellor, W. Brandt,
May 21, 1973

Esteemed Mr. Federal Chancellor, esteemed Mrs. Brandt,

Ladies and gentlemen,
Comrades,

Allow me first of all to cordially welcome our guests—Federal Chancellor Mr. Willy Brandt, the political leaders and statesmen of the Federal Republic of Germany, and all the guests who have gathered here in this hall today.

We have come to your country quite convinced that the strengthening and deepening of the co-operation between the FRG and the USSR fully conforms to the interests of our two countries and nations. The document signed by us today on the results of our talks here is convincing confirmation of this.

We have before us a vast and fertile field of activities. The past few days saw the signing of agreements dealing with economic and cultural co-operation between the USSR and the FRG. There is an improvement and development of our relations in the field of air transportations and a number of other areas. Yet, naturally, everything done, so far, certainly does not exhaust our possibilities.

Take, for instance, the economic contacts. We have planned to conclude a number of very large contracts based on the principle of economic co-operation in some sectors of our countries' economies. This form of relations most fully corresponds to the modern level of development of the productive forces of both states, and to the interests of peace. Meeting with the Federal Chancellor, and

conferring with representatives of business circles and trade unions, we have become convinced how great is the interest in your country in these problems and how many interesting thoughts and promising ideas are arising.

I think that the two sides will exert effort to translate everything that has been slated into realities, so that our cooperation would benefit the peoples of the USSR and the FRG and all European nations.

It is our opinion that the best results can be produced by the political cooperation between the USSR and the FRG, primarily on the issues of consolidating European security. The point is that the relations between the USSR and the FRG are an important link in the system of international relations in general and in Europe in particular.

The desire of the nations to ensure the security and peaceful cooperation of the states in Europe is now being concretely expressed among other things in the preparations for an all-European conference. What is meant is to elaborate, through collective efforts, a generally acknowledged reliable system of principles that would help to establish a genuinely calm atmosphere on our continent and enable Europeans to look confidently to the future not for several years ahead, but over a whole historical period. This, at least, is how we in the Soviet Union understand the task of an all-European conference. And we are gratified to note that the Government of the Federal Republic of Germany approaches this issue aware of its great importance.

Esteemed ladies and gentlemen, dear guests,

The normalization of relations with Poland and the German Democratic Republic is to be followed, as we understand it, by an adjustment of political

relations between the FRG and Czechoslovakia. The prospect of establishing normal relations with Hungary and Bulgaria is becoming realistic. The moment is close when the GDR and the FRG will take their seats in the UN and will be able to make a worthy contribution to the activity of this world organization. All this substantially changes your country's international position as well, and, to no small extent, the general climate in relations between the East and the West of Europe.

Life has shown that the policy of peaceful co-existence and of mutually beneficial cooperation with socialist countries opens for the Federal Republic new possibilities and enables it to play a more significant constructive role in international relations as a whole. This is a tendency which we view with favour, since the cause of detente and peace stands to gain thereby.

Allow me to express the hope—and I think I shall not be accused of excessive optimism—that the interaction of our countries in solving problems of European politics will become an important element in the formation of a system of international relations based on a durable, lasting peace and reliable security for all countries.

In conclusion, I should like to touch upon one more question. I think, Mr. Federal Chancellor, that the entire course of our talks with you and their results are further convincing proof of the benefit of what is usually qualified as summit contacts. Experience shows that when a country's top political leaders personally take part, together with competent specialists in one or another sphere, in the development of relations between two countries, this becomes a good stimulus prompting all those concerned to more effective and quicker work. But I think the most important thing is that

the participation of political leaders vested with supreme responsibility makes it possible to view the entire complex of relations in a broad aspect and with prospects, i.e., gives the possibility, as it were, to look further ahead and make headway more confidently.

We are apparently approaching a new stage in the development of our contacts. We have exchanged businesslike working visits with considerable benefit. Now probably the time is coming for these visits to be broadened, to include contacts with the public and acquaintance with the country and the life of its people. I should like to hope, Mr. Federal Chancellor, that we shall have the opportunity in the near future to welcome you and Mrs. Brandt to the Soviet Union, as our official guests. We shall be glad to show you due hospitality. We shall also be glad to welcome Federal President Mr. Heine-mann on Soviet soil. We are confident that these visits will be marked by new steps in the development of relations between our countries.

Permit me to propose a toast to the health of Mr. Federal Chancellor and his wife.

To the health of all our esteemed guests, to the further development and consolidation of relations between the Soviet Union and the Federal Republic of Germany, to lasting peace in Europe!

Speech by L. I. BREZHNEV
on West German Television,
May 21, 1973

Esteemed citizens of the Federal Republic of Germany,

It is a pleasure for me to speak to you at a time of my first visit to your country. My coming here

at the invitation of Federal Chancellor Willy Brandt, our talks—all this already indicates that relations between our countries are developing successfully.

My first immediate contacts with Chancellor Brandt were linked with a big event in the history of relations of our countries, and—it can be said boldly—in the political development of Europe. We met for the first time in Moscow in 1970 in connection with the signing of the treaty between the USSR and the FRG. Affixing their signatures to a document containing a realistic recognition of the present situation in Europe, and adopting a solemn pledge not to resort to force or the threat of force in relation to each other, the Soviet Union and the Federal Republic of Germany embarked on a new path in their relations.

I shall tell you frankly: it was not so easy for the Soviet people, and, therefore, also for their leaders, to open this new chapter in our relations. Much too vivid yet among millions of Soviet people are recollections of the last war, of the heavy sacrifices and dreadful destruction which Hitler's aggression brought us. We were able to step over the past in relations with your country because we do not want its return.

The Soviet Union has long been bound with the socialist German state, our ally, the German Democratic Republic, by ties of very close, sincere and unselfish friendship.

We approach our relations with the Federal Republic of Germany from positions of good-will and peaceableness. We are sincerely ready for cooperation which—we are convinced—can be very beneficial to both sides and to universal security.

We desire a lasting peace, and believe that the Federal Republic of Germany is also interested in peace and needs it.

We know that it was neither simple for Chancellor Brandt's Government to arrive at this treaty. The cold war has its own inertia, the overcoming of which requires certain effort. All the more so, since supporters of a dangerous confrontation of the two worlds have not at all disappeared yet from the political scene.

That is why the people in the Soviet Union appreciate the realism, will and farsightedness displayed by the leaders of the Federal Republic of Germany, above all, Federal Chancellor Willy Brandt, in working for the conclusion and enforcement of the treaties with the Soviet Union and the Polish People's Republic, which marked the beginning of new relations of your country with socialist Europe.

In this connection, I would like to give due credit to all supporters of good-neighbourly relations between the FRG and the Soviet Union. Many of them, having gone through the battle with fascism, spared no effort in working for peace, for friendship between our peoples. The Soviet Union highly values their contribution to this noble cause.

Our meeting with Chancellor Brandt in Oreanda in the autumn of 1971 was an important landmark in the successful development of our relations on the road charted by the Moscow treaty. In a quiet and businesslike atmosphere, free of the tyranny of diplomatic protocol, we had the possibility of mapping out further prospects of development of relations between the Soviet Union and the Federal Republic, as well as certain spe-

res of possible cooperation between our countries on an international plane.

The implementation of the plans mapped out has started. We may already say confidently that the development of peaceful and mutually beneficial relations of cooperation between the Soviet Union and the Federal Republic is no longer an abstract hypothesis, a theoretical plan or emotional wish as it appeared not very long ago, but stark reality which exists and is gaining in scope and strength.

Of course, the possibilities of extending such relations between our countries are far from exhausted. We are at the outset of this process. The course of our talks with Chancellor Brandt confirms that there are good possibilities for the future, including opportunities in the field of economic relations. In addition to expanding conventional trade, there are also opportunities for making long-term large-scale deals based on economic cooperation between our countries and aimed at carrying out important joint projects.

Such deals are not short-term, time-serving or more or less of a chance nature, but open the way to joint activity in important sectors of the economy, designed to give both countries a guaranteed benefit for many years to come. This means, among other things, the possibility of a more rational organization of production and, of course, steady employment for the workers of your country. And of particular importance is the fact that such cooperation helps to lay a reliable foundation for good-neighbourly relations between our two countries.

Both the Soviet Union and the Federal Republic of Germany are countries with a highly developed level of science, technology, and culture.

Our scientists have something to show and tell their colleagues. The population of our two countries will take, I am sure, a great interest in each other's masterpieces of literature, music, theatre and fine arts. This is vividly borne out by the interest shown by your public in the Days of the Soviet Union now being held in Dortmund.

As you know, our countries have signed a number of concrete agreements on economic and cultural relations and air communications, which demonstrate both sides' mutual understanding and readiness to cooperate.

But no matter how important the good relations are for both our states and for their peoples, it is no less important that their establishment and development are today a component of a broader process of a radical improvement of international life in Europe, and not only in Europe. A change is taking place from a quarter of a century's period of cold war to relations of peace, mutual respect and cooperation between the states of the East and the West. This is precisely the objective of the peaceful coexistence policy pursued by the Soviet Union in relation to states of the opposite social system. In our days it has found its most complete expression in the now universally known Peace Programme approved by the 24th CPSU Congress, as well as in the materials of the Plenary Meeting of the CPSU Central Committee this April. There we find written down, among other things, that our country pursues the aim of effecting a radical turn to relaxation and peace on the European continent. I would like to say that the Soviet Union, its Communist Party and all our people will vigorously and consistently strive for attaining this aim.

The Europe that has more than once been the

hotbed of aggressive wars which brought about colossal destruction and the death of millions of people must forever recede into the past. We want its place to be taken by a new continent—a continent of peace, mutual confidence and mutually advantageous cooperation among all states.

Among the positive elements of present-day European development is, no doubt, also the gradual improvement of the Federal Republic of Germany's relations with its neighbours in the East—Poland, the GDR, Czechoslovakia and other socialist states in Europe.

We attach great importance to the business-like, constructive cooperation we have established with the Federal Republic of Germany, France, the United States and other states in such an important field as the preparation for an all-European conference on security and cooperation.

There still remain in the world quite a few urgent and explosive problems awaiting solution. For example, the conflict has not yet been settled in the Middle East where Arab lands continue to be in the hands of the invaders and that is why dangerous tensions remain there. Opponents of a detente and of the cessation of the arms race can be found in other areas as well. However, mankind's horizon is brightening. The war in Vietnam has ended. Soviet-American relations continue to develop favourably. On the whole, it can be said that today our planet probably stands closer to a firm and lasting peace than ever before. The Soviet Union uses all its influence to promote this beneficial trend.

Our peaceable foreign policy is an expression of the very essence of our society, an expression of its profound internal requisites. The 250-million-strong Soviet people is engaged in carrying out the

spectacular projects of peaceful construction. In the north and south of our vast country, in Siberia and in Central Asia we are building huge power stations, hundreds of plants and factories, and developing irrigation systems in areas which in magnitude could compete with many European states. Our aim is to ensure that tomorrow the Soviet people will live even better than today. Soviet people feel tangibly the results of these collective efforts.

Naturally, all this does not mean that we in the Soviet Union have solved all the problems, and have no difficulties. Problems which we still have to tackle exist and apparently will exist always and at all times. Yet, the distinguishing feature of the problems arising before us is that they are connected with the confident growth of the country, of her economic and cultural potential, and that we are looking for a solution to these problems exclusively along the lines of further peaceful construction, of boosting the cultural and living standards of the people, and developing our socialist society.

I would like to add that our plans are by no means plans with an eye to autarchy. We are not following a policy of isolating our country from the outer world. Quite the contrary, we proceed from the fact that it will develop under the conditions of growing all-round cooperation with the outer world, and not only with the socialist countries, but, in a large measure, also with the states of the opposite social system.

Esteemed TV viewers, our stay in the Federal Republic is perforce very brief. Yet, even the few things that my comrades and I were able to see in West Germany leave a pleasant impression.

It was interesting for us to get acquainted with

your dynamic capital, which is at the same time so rich in traditions, with the old Bonn, where Beethoven was born, where the great founder of the theory of scientific communism, Karl Marx, had studied at the university.

We are very grateful to Federal Chancellor Willy Brandt, Federal President Gustav Heinemann, Minister for Foreign Affairs Walter Scheel, and all representatives of the FRG Government for their hospitality and the excellent organization of our joint work.

Concluding, I would like to thank from the bottom of my heart the representatives of various public circles in your country, all those whom we had an opportunity to meet in a friendly atmosphere in the course of the visit. I wish all of you, esteemed TV viewers, and all the people of the Federal Republic of Germany a peaceful and happy life, fruitful work and prosperity.

Thank you.

Speech by L. I. BREZHNEV
on His Departure from Bonn at the End of His Visit,
May 22, 1973

Esteemed Mr. Federal Chancellor,
Ladies and gentlemen,

Our visit to the Federal Republic of Germany is coming to a close. It was a brief visit but politically significant. I highly appreciate the long, constructive and genuinely friendly talks we have had during these days with Mr. Federal Chancellor Willy Brandt.

Our talks and the agreements which have been signed during our visit, the joint statement on the

outcome of the talks which Chancellor Brandt and I signed yesterday—these are significant new steps along the road of promoting cooperation between the peoples of our two countries. They show that we firmly follow the path mapped out in Moscow and Oreanda—the path of peace, good relations and good-neighbourly cooperation.

During the days of our visit much work was done, and at an intensive pace. We, who took part in this work, were inspired by the knowledge that it was devoted to worthy goals, that it benefited the peoples of both our states and the cause of peace.

On my own behalf and on behalf of all the comrades who have come here with me I express sincere gratitude to Mr. Federal Chancellor and the Government of the Federal Republic for the warm hospitality accorded us and good cooperation during these days. I also sincerely thank the people of Bonn for their attention and kindness.

Till we meet again, Mr. Federal Chancellor.
Auf Wiedersehen.

Л. И. БРЕЖНЕВ
НАШ КУРС — МИР И СОЦИАЛИЗМ

на английском языке

Цена 6 коп.



L. I. BREZHNEV
General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee